7: Joest--62 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 202, 619 Chin-hoan

When a native approaches the village of a friendly tribe, he usually fires his rifle, and those in the village answer with smoke signals. At the same time both parties call out Wao.

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [4] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197, 609, 619

The language of the Kalapaï is unlike that of the Tayal, and the two tribes are separated by a water-course; but they cross it whenever they like, for they are on friendly terms with each other, and with the Maraïkoun, a tribe whose language is derived from the Tayal.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 619

There has never been any federation of tribes, and the only link is the language.

21: Asai--8 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 619, 721

"The territory of each tribe is well fixed, also the hunting area. If one group enters into another's area, war will usually break out. The number of heads taken by each side decides who won the war. Sometimes there are quarrels between gaga in the same village."

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 602, 619 Atayal

The Atayals have developed two other social institutions which are superior to the individual and are independent of life and death, as well as of the will of the individual. They outlast the changing generations and give stability and strength to the whole Atayal community. Just as each individual belongs to a family, each family is a member of a clan, and each clan in turn is a member of a tribe. No clan can leave its tribe, and no family can leave its clan, unless it is excluded by the decision of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--26-27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 641, 619 Atayal

If the judicial function holds second place in the clan, in the tribe it holds first place in scope, although in importance it is inferior to the political activity of the tribe. Among the Schimptonoff, the members of the tribe are called koto-ro-ryong, [27] people living along the same great river. Among the Taroku, they are called koga-ru-gaya, people with the same customs. As the names indicate, the common bond of the tribe is not blood relationship, but the fact of occupancy of the same territory, or the fact that they have the same political and judicial customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648 Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 619, 609 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 648 Atayal

The tribe is a political association of the clans which live in a definite territory and are united by similar customs. Accordingly, it has no economic functions. It is responsible for the legal regulations which are beyond the scope of the individual clan. Furthermore, it is charged with certain military and political functions on behalf of its members.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 619 Atayal

The gap between our conditions and theirs is further emphasized by the fact that the Atayals lack any political organization which is superior to the tribe, in short, any organization resembling a [MC: national]state.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 619, 643 Atayal

Judging from the name and the powers of the chief, the tribe may have originated from the fact that several clans gathered about a skillful and successful military leader.... [MC: National] states in general have originated by force and conquest under a powerful leader, who then took upon himself the obligation to perform valuable services, such as defence against outside forces and the exercise of justice in domestic life. Such a development by the use of force did not take place among the Atayals.

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

34: Del Re--19-20 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan -Aborigines
116, 619, 621, 183, 577, 421, 437 Yami

"The above [MLB: reluctance of Yami youths to enter government service] follows naturally from the basic principle of [20] their community life, namely that all members of the tribe have full and equal rights and freedom of action limited only by tribal custom which represents the collective will of the community freely accepted by and identifired with that of the individual. This also finds practical expression in their communal attitude towards all except a very few strictly personal belongings such as small canoes and ornaments. Everything else is held in common by the village. Uncultivated land, or land that has ceased to be cultivated, is the property of the community, but anyone who so wishes may take and cultivate it and in this sense it may be called his. Should he allow it to run wild, however, he cannot prevent another from cultivating it and enjoying its fruits. The large canoes and articles of clothing are also communal. In the event of a native wishing for something in the temporary possession of another he need only ask the present owner for it, but is in turn expected, as a matter of course, to do likewise. Such transactions are not necessarily in the nature of an exchange nor is a regular system of barter practised except for goods from outside."

34: Del Re--38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 868 Yami

"Possessing neither written language, laws nor a religious caste to preserve their traditions and taboos, it is the duty of the elders to pass on to their children the treasures handed down to them by their forefathers, to which they add the fruits of their personal experience. All such traditional or new material is embodied into gnomic sentences, legends and tales which they tell by the seashore or on the slopes of the hills, thus preserving the ancient tribal spirit."